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ABSTRACT

This guide for classroom teachers is intended to increase their awareness of Haitian culture, the Haitian educational system, and Haitian Creole language. This document was adapted from the doctoral dissertation "Academic Achievement of Haitian Limited English Proficient Student in New Jersey Public High Schools" (G. L. Rorro) at Rutgers University in New Brunswick (New Jersey). An opening section contains a foreword, entries from an administrator of Bilingual-English As a Second Language and Foreign Languages, a note from a Haitian American teacher of Haitian American students, a description of the publication's purpose, and a glossary of key terms. Section I describes education in Haiti including a review of the development of that educational system, its role, influences on its development, the current level of educational resources and staff in Haiti, types of schools, higher education, and recent moves toward modernization and reform. Section II describes significant differences between Haitian Creole and standard French including the development of Haitian Creole, the phonological system, grammatical and syntactical structures and uses, lexical system, and the influence of Portuguese. Section III discusses the following classroom considerations for the teacher: (1) useful words and phrases; (2) assisting Haitian students; (3) testing; (4) non-verbal cues; and (5) differences in the Haitian and American mathematical systems. Section IV lists 22 references and teacher resources and a list of interviewees who assisted with the project. Section V offers further resources for teachers including a teacher quiz, and the text of a popular song and Haitian proverbs. (JB)

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Haitian Voices:

CONSIDERATIONS FOR THE CLASSROOM TEACHER

New Jersey State Department of Education
Office of Equal Educational Opportunity

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HAITIAN VOICES

Considerations for the Classroom Teacher

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Contents from this document are adapted from the doctoral dissertation, Academic Achievement of Haitian Limited English Proficient Students in New Jersey Public High Schools completed in 1988 by Dr. Gilda L. Rorro at Rutgers University, New Brunswick, New Jersey.

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FOREWORD BY THE AUTHOR

Many immigrants who settle in New Jersey's urban centers come from rural areas of developing nations. They are instantly made aware of the obstacles they must confront in their new environment, including a new language, socioeconomic restrictions, and racial discrimination.

In New Jersey in 1991, the Office of Ethnic Affairs identifies no fewer than 104 different ethnic groups in the state. With this surge of diverse foreign populations, the number of limited English proficient (LEP) students in the United States has been expanding at a faster rate than that of the English-speaking majority (Pear, 1984). The September 30, 1990 "Native Language Survey" of the Office of Bilingual Education of the New Jersey State Department of Education (NJSDE) identified that 125 foreign languages are spoken by LEP students in New Jersey public schools.

The number of Haitian entrant students in New Jersey public schools has rapidly expanded in the past nine years. The 1989 annual report of the Office of Bilingual Education of the NJSDE identified 1,173 Haitian LEP students in kindergarten through twelfth grade in New Jersey who received instruction in English as a second language (ESL) and/or bilingual education.

Many Haitian LEP students who arrived in the United States during the 1980s generally experienced anomie due to cultural, linguistic, socioeconomic, and educational factors.

According to De Regt (1983), the majority of the youngsters who arrived in the 1980s came from the working and agricultural classes of rural northwestern Haiti. Schooling, when available in such areas, was modeled primarily on aspects of nineteenth century French education. Based on this information, one could conclude that the curriculum, with its emphasis on the classics, is outdated, elitist, and irrelevant to Haitian working class needs.

The Institute for International Research (1985) indicated that Haitian education at the secondary level was experiencing a rapid expansion of student population and rising costs. At the same time, it had to cope with an uneven quality of teacher preparation and instructional delivery. As a result of these conditions, Haitian LEP students who entered American schools were generally ill-prepared for the transition to the American mainstream academic context and society. The problem was compounded by the American educators' lack of awareness of the Haitian education and cultural ethos. For these reasons, the average Haitian LEP students entering New Jersey public schools would be confronted by serious obstacles affecting their chances of achievement.

Most New Jersey educators consider Haitian Creole a debased form of French and believe wrongly that all Haitians are able to comprehend and function in French. Such is not the case for most youngsters. In fact, whenever a Creole-speaking student states that s/he speaks French, his/her fluency may be extremely limited. Accordingly, initial errors in phonology and syntax during the early stages of English as a second language instruction are more likely to be related to interference from Haitian Creole than from standard French patterns of speech.

Gilda L. Rorro

From an Administrator of Bilingual/ESL and Foreign Languages

Teachers play important roles in the teaching/learning process and must adapt their instruction to the students' realities and needs.

As educators, we must be responsive to change. We examine the roles of teachers and how they accommodate their students' needs. All students can excel. The responsibilities lie in the ability of those who teach to increase the probability that learning will take place.

As the United States changes, those who will be able to trace their ancestry to Europe will become the minority in most urban sectors. Educators who teach the multiculturally different students must be attuned to their social and educational needs and be trained to address those needs. By observing and interpreting the behavior of our Limited English Proficient (LEP) population, we will be in an advantageous situation to monitor their behavior and adjust our teaching strategies and techniques to be responsive to their needs.

Teachers of LEP students must organize the subject matter in such a way that it includes the variables which will effect positively the learning outcome. Also, they must provide opportunities to promote positive transfer of learning and use real-life situations to increase the LEP students' learning and retention. Teaching modalities and strategies must focus on the students' learning styles, their background, and the educational realities they bring to the classroom.

Teachers of LEP students may ask the following questions:

How do we encourage pupil participation? What strategies can we employ to focus the LEP students' attention on learning? What will motivate and challenge the LEP students of different levels? What do we do to create an environment where learning will take place? What verbal and non-verbal messages do we give the LEP students?

Haitian LEP students come from an educational situational structure which is already bilingual, yet, in the United States, they must learn a third language. We apply second language acquisition skills in learning that third language. The material we use in that situation, whether they be from Haiti, Canada, or other French-speaking countries, may not be adequate to meet their specific needs.

Dr. Gilda L. Rorro, in Haitian Voices, helps classroom teachers learn about the Haitian language and culture. The information included in this document fosters an understanding of the Haitian saga and endeavors to effect positive learning. In the same vein, it will help educators become more enlightened to this unique and growing population.

We, in New Jersey, continue to provide learning opportunities to all our students. But to do so, we must be responsive to the LEP students' needs, to increase the probability that they will be successful. Dr. Rorro joins us in that endeavor by providing this linguistic and cultural framework.

Sandra Ayala De Prospo
Supervisor, Bilingual/ESL/Foreign Language
East Orange School District

A Haitian Teacher of Haitian Students

The increasing number of Haitian students entering schools in the United States has made it necessary for teachers to seek more information related to the Haitian cultural background, educational needs, and expectations. Special interest is focused on the linguistic problems faced by the Haitian child in his/her new environment.

Many of the Haitian students enrolled in New Jersey's schools are very limited in English, but a few who have attended better private schools in Haiti are faced with fewer difficulties in adjusting to their new instructional language. Creole, like any other language, doesn't constitute a barrier in learning a foreign language. If the teacher or administrator possesses some knowledge and understanding of the native language and culture, the task is made easier for both parties.

Even though Haitian students encounter many problems during their adaptation period to the American school system, and life in America in general, they do not give up. They struggle with their new educational program and they supplement the instruction by receiving remedial courses after school. Because many Haitian students have to work at night to supplement their family's income, they solicit and receive additional help from other more experienced and advanced Haitian classmates. As a result of the trust they have invested in their educational facilitators, and the support they receive from family members, Haitian students generally succeed. I am happy and proud to see that a great number of these students become high achievers in school as well as in college.

To these encouraging parents and teachers, I say "Keep the faith; you will not be disappointed." To my Haitian students, "Continue to work hard together."

"ANSANM NA RIVE. SE LINYON KI FE FOS NOU."
(Together we will succeed. Our strength is in unity.)

This document will be a valuable tool for school staff members who are interested in furthering the learning of Haitian culture, education, and the Haitian language. I want to take this opportunity to thank Dr. Gilda I. Rorro for her sincere interest in our culture.

Mèsi anpil. Bonn Chans!

Frantze Cave-Alerte
Haitian Creole Bilingual Teacher
Central High School, Newark School District

Purpose of this Publication

This document is intended to increase the awareness of classroom teachers of Haitian culture, the Haitian educational system, and Haitian Creole-language. Knowledge of the Haitian educational system, the Haitian language and the Haitian culture, albeit perfunctory, is essential to enlighten and sensitize educators to the needs of students from a unique national origin background, in order to provide them with the equal learning opportunities to which they are entitled by law. In addition, grammatical similarities exist in the 300 Creole languages in the world; through increased understanding of Haitian culture and the contrast between Haitian Creole now a standard language, and standard French, educators may gain awareness of the Creolized forms of standard languages. For example, by understanding how the modalities of the development of creole languages develop, teachers may recognize syntactical features of Black English and "Spanglish" could be more readily comprehended so that teachers may provide necessary instruction for acquisition of standard languages.

Definition of Terms

The following words and terms, when used in this study, shall have these meanings:

Peyizan: A member of the Haitian rural, agrarian society. Members of this group carry a disproportionate burden of the Haitian economy. A Peyizan is not to be equated with the American concept of farmer or peasant.

Anomie: A state of disorientation, personal anxiety, and social isolation experienced by an uprooted individual (Dictionary of Education, 1973).

Bilingual Education Program: A full-time program of instruction in all those courses or subjects which a child is required by law or rule to receive; given in the native language of the children of limited English proficiency (LEP) enrolled in the program and also in English; in the aural comprehension, speaking, reading, and writing of the native language of the children of limited proficiency enrolled in the program and in the aural comprehension, speaking, reading, and writing of English; and in the history and culture of the country, territory, or geographic area which is the native land of the parents of children of limited English speaking ability enrolled in the program and in the history and culture of the United States. The purpose of such an environment is to make the pupils bilingual through conceptualization in the language best known to them and, to become bilingual/bicultural citizens. The term "bilingual education" and "bilingual instruction" are often used interchangeably. N.J.A.C. 6:31-1.5

(a) When, at the beginning of any school year, there are within the schools of the district, 20 or more pupils of limited English proficiency in any one language classification, the district board of education shall establish for each such classification, a program in bilingual education for all pupils therein, providing also that a district board of education may establish a program in bilingual education for any language classification with less than 20 pupils. All pupils in bilingual education must receive ESL instruction.

(b) In grades nine through 12, sufficient courses and other relevant opportunities shall be offered to

enable the pupil to fulfill all credits and other requirements for graduation. When sufficient numbers of pupils are not available to form a bilingual class in a subject area, plans must be developed in consultation with the New Jersey State Department of Education (NJSDE) to meet the needs of the pupils.

Culture: A system of dominant behavioral patterns that are typical of a particular group or class, as determined by such factors as beliefs, traditions, and language (Office of Equal Educational Opportunity (Office of Equal Educational Opportunity (OEEO), NJSDE: 1985).

English as a Second Language (ESL) Program: A developmental second language program which teaches comprehension, speaking, reading and writing in English using second language teaching techniques, and incorporates the cultural aspects of the pupils' experiences in their ESL instruction.

Limited English Proficient: Pupils whose native language is other than English and who have sufficient difficulty speaking, reading, writing, or understanding the English language as measured by an English language proficiency test so as to be denied the opporunity to learn successfully in the classrooms where the language of instruction is English. This term means the same as limited English speaking ability, the term used in Federal guidelines. (N.J.S.A. 18A:35-15 to 26)

Minority Group: Any recognizable racial, religious, or ethnic group in a community that suffers disadvantages due to prejudice or discrimination. A category of people who can be identified by a sizeable segment of the population as subjects of prejudice and/or discrimination. The term minority group most often refers to persons who are Black or National Origin minority. (OEEO, NJSDE: 1989)

National Origin Minority: A group of individuals whose dominant language is not English and who, as a result of language barriers and cultural differences, experience discrimination. The OEEO of the NJSDE, identifies the following as national origin groups:

a) **Hispanic:** Persons of Puerto Rican, Cuban, Mexican, Central or South American ancestry, or other native Spanish-speakers regardless of race.

b) **Asian or Pacific Islander:** Persons having origins in the original peoples of the Far East, Southeast Asia, the Indian Subcontinent, or the Pacific Islands.

c) **American Indian or Alaskan Native:** Persons having origins in the original peoples of North America.

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d) **Haitian:** Persons having origins in Haiti. Note: Haitians were not initially included in the national origin category, but because they speak a language other than English, are subject to discrimination, and have cultural needs similar to those of national origin state minorities, the NJSDE and the Office of Civil Rights (OCR), consider them to be part of the national origin classification, thus entitling them to Civil Rights protection (N.J.S.A. 18A:36-20).

Native Language: The language first acquired by the pupil, or the language most often spoken by the pupil, or the language most often spoken in the pupil's home, regardless of the language spoken by the pupil.

SECTION I

Education in Haiti

The United States is currently undergoing the largest resurgence of immigration since the early 1900s. Today, however, the newcomers face a society vastly different from that encountered by their predecessors. No longer is there a need for unskilled labor, provided in large part, by children. No longer does the school system consider dropping out to be an accepted practice so that youngsters can contribute to the family income. Today's immigrants, indeed, are faced with many unprecedented demands when they attempt to provide an education for their children. Among them is the fact that parents are expected to participate in school functions and cooperate with teachers in furthering learning opportunities for their offspring.

In order for school staff to facilitate the process, knowledge of the student's educational and social background could be most helpful. The educational system of Haiti, although different from that of the United States, has similarities to the educational systems in other parts of the world. In addition, schools in Haiti perpetuate much of Haitian culture.

Over the years, universal education has not been a priority for most of Haiti's leaders. Even now, Simmons (1984, p. 11) noted, the varied economic, sociopolitical, and topographical difficulties which have plagued Haiti, have impeded the 1976 Constitutional mandate of universal compulsory education for students ages six to fourteen. And, in the early days following independence in 1804, the leaders of the new country feared re-invasion from the French and concentrated the nation's energies and resources on the strengthening of

its military forces. Even though some of them being former slaves, were uneducated, they realized the importance of learning by valuing and emulating the French cultural legacy. In 1860, the Vatican Concordat assigned to French religious orders the responsibility to establish and maintain Catholic schools in Haiti. The staff were to be supported by the Church, and all other costs were to be provided by the Haitian government. Children attending these institutions were exposed to instruction which depreciated African heritage and extolled French culture, thereby separating them -- the literate few -- from the uneducated masses. The outcome of those early schooling efforts was the establishment of a social dichotomy in the homeland.

Alexander Pétion, aided by religious missionaries, established the foundation of Haitian primary education in the south and worked toward the creation of secondary schools. In the north, King Henri Christophe, with assistance from the British philanthropist William Wilberforce (1759-1883), encouraged education in his kingdom. Educational opportunity was limited, however, and by 1854, 55 years after independence, and nine heads of state later, the country could only count three lycees (public high schools) and 51 primary schools, 49 for boys and two for girls.

There were few buildings constructed in rural areas, except for industrial schools which stressed agronomy for small farm needs, and where courses were taught in French. Even during the American occupation, and after its departure in 1934, education remained unavailable to the masses and retained its elitist character.

With the ascendancy to power of Dr. Francois Duvalier in 1957, a law was eventually passed to "alphabetize" the population. As a result of this act, the Office National d'Education Communautaire (ONEC) was created in 1961 to teach reading and writing in Creole to illiterate adults over a six-month period. Fouron (1985) claims that this and other projects were short-lived due to the lack of funds and supportive structure.

Although the various Haitian constitutions have always proclaimed free education for all school-age children, there are today only approximately 300,000 of the one and a half-million eligible children in the 6-12 age range enrolled in academic institutions, and approximately one-half of them are in the first two grades (De Regt, 1984). In addition, less than 50 percent of the boys and girls in rural areas attend school, and only approximately 20 percent complete the primary level.

The role of education in Haiti has been one of exclusion rather than inclusion. While families value educátion as a vector for upward mobility within the society, the individual who has passed through the educational system successfully is often alienated from the rest of the people. A dichotomy therefore, exists in Haiti between the illiterate masses and educated individuals who, by virtue of their academic experiences, have absorbed European linguistic and cultural habits. These habits are antithetical to those held by the majority population, who have maintained African cultural modalities. In the end, the educational strata is tranformed into an elite class isolated and insulated from their less privileged peers.

Influences on Haitian Education

Isolation

French colonization isolated Haiti from those Latin American regions occupied by Spain and Portugal. In most of the latter nations, the indigenous Indian population and culture managed to survive; in Haiti, however, it disappeared almost completely, a factor which increased the lack of communication between the homeland and other countries on the American continent. Lundahl (1984) attributes Haiti's isolation to the alleged paranoia of other slave-holding countries such as America, Cuba, Guadeloupe and Brazil toward the newly independent black nation. This situation was further aggravated by the fact that the Haitian Church remained strictly dependent on France, thereby precluding the development of ties with those religious institutions which had been established on the continent by the Spanish and Portuguese crowns.

Religion

Approximately 80 percent of the Haitian population today is nominally Roman Catholic. Although this religion has played a pivotal role in the country, especially in education, its authority has waxed and waned according to the local political climate. Its fluctuating influence may be categorized into three separate periods: that of the Spanish colonial era, that of the French colonial era, and that beginning with the establishment of independence up to the present time.

During the Spanish colonial period, priests were concerned primarily with the spiritual conversion of the indigenous population. Religious leaders, like the Dominican Bishop Bartolomé de las Casas, at first participated in abuses toward the indigenous Indian population. Later, he like others, recanted but found himself powerless to halt the myriad abuses inflicted by the Conquistadores on the native population, which resulted in genocide of the Indians.

Under French rule, the Catholic Church did not oppose the importation of slaves, and its priests demonstrated a greater preoccupation with the conversion of the latters' souls than with the amelioration of their worldly physical bondage. In consequence, clergymen were attacked during riots and revolts which occurred at the end of the eighteenth century. Once independence had been achieved, however, the new leaders recognized the Church as a social force in Haiti and availed themselves of its services to shape the future of the newborn country. With the advent of a Concordat with Rome in 1860, France established a seminary for the preparation of priests who would serve in Haiti. Subsequently, the Society of Priests of St. Jacques in Brittany recognized and re-established the Catholic Church along the pattern of French institutions.

It was not until 1900 that the first Haitian priests educated in France were ordained to serve in their homeland. At that time, the French language and culture were still the sole models for education and, since the clergy provided services primarily to the elite, they were prohibited from using the Creole language in their teaching and in preaching. The report of the mission of Pax Christi international to Haiti (1986, p. 61) claimed that the situation remained unchanged until Vatican II.

The Duvalier regime came into conflict with religious leaders in 1961 when it expelled French bishops from the country under the pretext that the Church was not sufficiently integrated in Haiti. Five years later, Francois Duvalier negotiated a revised Concordat in which he presented his own candidates to the Haitian Sees and required them to pledge an oath of allegiance to the government. In so doing, he silenced effectively all potential opposition from religious institutions to his rule. This state of affairs which persisted until 1979 when the Latin American Church proclaimed a "preferential option for the poor."

From that time on, many religious leaders no longer viewed their ministry in a paternalistic way, but instead concentrated on raising the consciousness of the poor community. This new approach was highlighted during Pope John Paul II's visit to Haiti in 1983, when he assured the people that, "I am with you," as well as encouraged his representatives there by stating, "Something must change here in Haiti)" Time Magazine (February 10, 1983, p.54). Under the circumstances, it was not surprising that the Church became instrumental in facilitating the overthrow of the Duvalier regime. Time Magazine, (February 10, 1986, pp. 54-55) lists the following three major events as contributing significantly to the dictator's downfall:

1. The expulsion of three priests and the director of the Catholic-run radio station, Radio Soleil, in July 1985.
2. Protests during Masses at the Old Cathedral of Cap-Haitien when a voice from the congregation called out, "Aba Duvalier!" (Down with Duvalier!)
3. The fatal shooting of a priest during Mass at the St. Jean Bosco Church located in a poor Port-au-Prince district.

Protestant Influence on Haitian Education

While Roman Catholicism has been and still remains the official religion of Haiti, as noted by Laguerre (1979, p. 16), it no longer exercises an exclusive religious influence on the population. Protestant congregations of Wesleyans, Anglicans, Baptists, Methodists, Pentacostals, and Seventh Day Adventists have enjoyed an increasing popularity since their establishment in Haiti. This change may be attributed to the fact that Protestant ministers interact on a personal level with their parishioners and that most of their churches also function as missions, clinics, and schools intended to help the poor.

Voodoo and Education

Despite the presence of established Western religions, Voodoo is practiced in Haiti. The system of beliefs in Voodoo is syncretic in that it blends some elements of Catholicism with diverse African practices. Etimologically, the term "Voodoo" is derived from a Dahomean word vodun, which means "spirit." Vaudou is the Latinicized version of vodun in Haitian Creole. For the islanders, Voodoo is a religion, but outsiders do not share this perception and have developed many misconceptions about those who practice it. In reality, its tenets are conceived in a mystical context which influences its followers. Reed (1981, p. 100) claims that it means many things to many people, including an attitude toward life and death, a concept of ancestors and the afterworld, and a speculation on the forces which control individuals and their activities. From a metaphysical standpoint, Voodoo permits its believers to attempt to influence their

environment through the use of conjured cosmic forces, in a universe permeated by spirits which can be invoked equally effectively for worthy or nefarious purposes. The eternal struggle of good over evil featured in this creed is omnipresent in Haitian culture; it is expressed through the art, music, and social customs of the country. However, this cult lacks the institutional structure of established Christian religions in Haiti today. Consequently, its suspected influence on education is difficult to ascertain. Yet, its role in shaping the students' attitudes toward the learning process cannot be ignored.

French Influence on Haitian Education

The French educational system continues to dominate the schooling process in Haiti. It reflects the basic French philosophy and utilitizes its teaching/learning strategies and methodologies. In fact, Haitian diplomas have been and still are routinely accepted by French universities for admission into undergraduate and graduate study programs. (The recent political upheavals on the island have caused growing numbers of individuals to deviate from this path and to seek admission to institutions of higher education in the United States (M.S.L. personal communication, May 3, 1987).

Many of the prestigious Haitian schools today are administered by French religious orders, as they have been in the past, since the 1860 Vatican Concordat assigned to them the responsibility for providing elementary and secondary education in the homeland. They continue to serve the needs of the elite class and, thereby, contribute to its perpetuation. As indicated by Simmons (1984, p. 11), the varied economic, sociopolitical, and topographical

difficulties inherent in Haiti have impeded the 1976 Constitutional mandate of universal compulsory education for students aged six to fourteen years.

The Learning Process

According to the 18th century French educational system which is still in practice in Haiti, the development of a good memory is indispensable to the achievement of scholastic success. Thus, a popular instructional device is the subjection of students to periodic oral examinations wherein they must recite learned portions of subject matter verbatim from the text. In such a system, verification of the accuracy of memory takes precedence over that of comprehension. Accordingly, Haitian children are often seen in the streets diligently practicing their assigned passages at all hours of the day and night, taking advantage of the free illumination of street lights.

Modern conveniences, which are common in the United States, are often unknown in Haiti, where entire villages have no electricity. Many rural families, for example, use a kerosene lamp known as a lamp tèt gridap in their dwellings, a contrivance which produces a poor, uneven light by which to study. In addition, the cost of educational materials in relation to the per capita income is extremely high, for little printing takes place in Haiti and a book, when available, may cost as much as eleven dollars (US) or more, a sum which may represent one-tenth of a rural family's yearly income. The paucity of available, appropriate textbooks also creates learning problems for the students. Many of the publications used in Haitian schools come from France or Canada and are written in French. And, since only five percent of the youngsters speak that idiom at home, most of them face the additional

obstacle of having to study subject matter through a foreign medium. Nor do they have the luxury of being able to call for assistance from their parents who often have received limited education and are unable to serve as primary tutors for them. This unfortunate situation, which deprives children of learning reinforcement at home, thus perpetuates the dichotomy faced by Haitians in their everyday life, that which separates the culture and language of the masses (Creole) from those of the elite (French).

Textbook Availability

The high cost of books precludes many students from ever owning one. To cope with the situation, boys and girls are expected to share a text with their peers and to hand-copy passages from it; they are also provided with materials photocopied by their teachers. Publications currently in use in Haitian schools are hopelessly outdated and inadequate to meet the needs of the learners. Since they are printed in French, they reflect a language and culture that are incompatible with the reality of local life and as such, tend to alienate pupils from, rather than unite them with, their homeland.

Grade Placement According to Age

Chronological grouping according to grade level does not exist in Haiti where the majority of classes includes students of varying ages. Each learner has had to pass examinations to be promoted from one grade level to another; those who fail and are held back in a grade are known as redoublants. Other reasons for failure may account for a child having to repeat a grade, or leave school for an extended period, such as the family need for help during sugar cane season, or the parents' inability to pay the tuition.

Availability of Teachers

The 1987 Haiti Sector Assessment report revealed that nine to ten percent of public school teachers leave the field each year to secure higher paying positions in other areas. Their salaries of about 100 dollars per month in the public sector are significantly below those earned by taxi drivers or secretaries in the nation's capital. And in the private sector, their remuneration may be no more than 40 dollars per month (sometimes even lower in rural areas). These financial restrictions have forced many educators to teach in several schools in order to meet their living expenses. They have also been instrumental in causing teacher demonstrations in May of 1986 in an effort to protest publicly against their low income.

Teachers at the Secondary Level

Accurate statistics on the numbers of secondary teachers in Haiti are not available; they can only be estimated based on existing "assignments" known as chaires, which correspond more or less to eight hours of teaching per week. During the 1982-83 school year, there were some 5,367 known "chaires," in Haiti; by 1988-89, this number was expected to rise by 1,519 as a result of increasing student enrollments, known to expand at an annual rate of 13 percent (Haiti sector Assessment, 1987, p.6-17). During that time, women held 12 percent of the teaching "chaires," nine of which were assigned to public lycées.

Teacher Qualifications

By Haitian standards, a qualified teacher is one who has completed a course of study at the Ecole Normale Supérieure and thus becomes a "normalien." Such individuals constitute only 12 percent of all school personnel in the country; the rest include graduates from the State University of Haiti, or university students who teach part-time.

The School Day

From mid-May to the end of June, due to both the heat and the rainy season, classes have traditionally been held from 8 a.m. to noon in Haiti, without an afternoon session. On a typical day, students must arrive in school before 8:00 a.m. and continue until 4 p.m. In the morning, they gather around the flag. The school director then asks for silence and begins to recite "The Lord's Prayer." The children are expected to join in.

Once in class, the teacher starts the lesson by reading aloud the material which s/he had assigned to the learners the night before, stopping every so often to ask questions. If a boy or a girl does not know the answer, another one will be queried until the correct response is obtained. This oral review is followed by eight periods of formal instruction. At the secondary level, the subject matter is often taught solely in French, despite the fact that many of the students may not have mastered the language completely.

In many Haitian schools, pupils sit on long benches (banc) and they are usually crowded together in groups of three or four. Not unexpectedly, then, many of the youngsters who have immigrated to New Jersey, complain about feeling isolated when they discover that they have to occupy an individual desk in class.

Structure of the Haitian Educational System

The educational experience of Haitian students entering New Jersey high schools varies according to the type of institution attended by them in their country. Education in Haiti is controlled by the Minister of Education and the Secretary of State for National Education. There is also one official responsible for Primary Education, and another one in charge of Secondary and Technical Education.

In urban areas, the curriculum continues to be based on elements of the nineteenth-century French model which emphasizes liberal arts and the Humanities. The curriculum implemented in country schools tends to emphasize primarily vocational education and agronomy, although some classical studies are also included in the course of study.

The Elementary Cycle in Haitian Schools

The total Haitian school cycle consists of 14 years as compared with 13 in the United States. In the elementary grades, instruction is divided into seven levels, as illustrated in Table 1.

Table 1

The Elementary School Cycle in Haiti

	Equivalent in US Schools
Certificat	grade 7
cours moyen 2	grade 6
cours moyen 1	grade 5
cours élémentaire 2	grade 4
Cours élémentaire 1	grade 3
cours préparatoire 1+2	grades 1+2 (Students begin first grade at age six)
cours enfantin	(Kindergarten)

An average public elementary school is staffed by four teachers and a school director, the latter serving both as the school administrator and as a teacher for intermediate courses. These courses prepare the students for their Certificat d'Etudes Primaires (C.E.P.), and all subject matter is traditionally taught in French.

Types of Elementary Schools

Haiti has a variety of elementary schools. The school types are:

1. Ecoles Maternelles (Kindergartens)
2. Ecoles Elémentaires Privées et Publiques (elementary, private, and public)
3. Ecoles Congréganistes (Catholic Schools)
4. Fermes Ecoles (Farm Schools)
5. Ecoles Presbytériennes (Presbyterial Schools)
6. Bay Leson (Home Tutorial Schools)
7. Ecole de Mission (Mission Schools)

Ecoles Maternelles

Students enroll in these schools at age five for a period of one year, then they qualify to enter the elementary cycle. They are intended to prepare children for acceptance into elementary schools populated by the sons and daughters of middle and upper class Haitians. In addition to being taught the alphabet, numbers, colors, and sentence copying, the youngsters are also exposed to the French language to the point of being able to

recognize simple sentences in that idiom. The majority of the Ecoles Maternelles are poorly equipped and their teaching staff are seldom formally trained. Nevertheless, they do not cater to the masses, and only the more affluent members of Haitian society are able to send their children to kindergarten. One major advantage of attending preschool is that it automatically prescribes the subsequent enrollment of the learner in elementary school at the **Préparatoire Enfantin I** level which is actually the equivalent of one year at the Ecole Maternelle.

Ecoles Publiques Congréganistes

These institutions are public elementary schools administered by the Catholic Church and subsidized by the State. Minimal tuition is charged, and the curriculum includes a strong component of religious studies. The staff consist of religious brothers who traditionally taught male students and Catholic nuns who serve only female students. These schools enjoy a good reputation and are known for their high standards of discipline and academic achievement all of which are reflected in the students' high rate of success in passing qualifying examinations for the Certificate of Primary Studies. Their graduates usually pursue their education by entering one of the secondary schools operated by the same religious orders in Port-au-Prince (Laguerre, 1979).

Ecoles Privées

Two kinds of "écoles privées" exist in Haiti: those with, and those without a religious affiliation. The former are open to both male and female pupils, but the latter are not. Among them, those considered to be of

superior quality are run by the Catholic Church and by Protestant missionaries. The rating of nonreligious schools varies considerably, for anyone in Haiti is free to establish a private school, regardless of his/her professional qualifications. In Haiti, the label "private" does not carry the same connotation as it does in the United States, yet, the most highly regarded schools in Haiti are private.

Fermes Ecoles

Farm Schools are few in number and may offer two types of grade sequences: grades 1-4, or 1-6; they serve children in rural areas. Unfortunately, the many problems encountered in rural communities adversely influence the opportunities of students attending Fermes Ecoles. For example, the lower teacher salaries in such locales result in a severe shortage of qualified staff, and school facilities--both physical and academic--are generally inadequate and of such poor quality as to preclude students from obtaining the Certificate of Primary Studies. In addition, seasonal factors, such as harvest and rainy seasons, interrupt studies for, at such times, many children are needed to help their parents at home. This situation is further aggravated by the fact that students are required to pay tuition and often live so far away from the school that they must travel a great distance to obtain an education.

Ecoles Presbytériennes

Presbyterian schools (most of them at the elementary level only) are attached to a Catholic Church and tend to serve country areas. They

frequently do not maintain a regular class scheduling or a prescribed curriculum. Classes in religion, basic reading, writing, and mathematics are taught by an instructor who is also the rural catechist and who may or may not hold a Certificate of Primary Studies. He usually meets only once a day with the students in the church, at noon or later, after work in the fields has been completed, and has the autonomy to decide what subjects will be taught and when. His meager salary of five dollars (U.S.) per week is sometimes supplemented by gifts from childrens' parents.

The Bay Leson

Schools of this type are widespread in Haiti; they basically offer tutoring at all levels, which is provided during the summer to

- Prepare students who failed their examinations for the next testing cycle in September; and

- Guide the learning development of students who want to accelerate their acquisition of academic knowledge.

These instructional activities may be conducted by a qualified or an untrained teacher. Anyone with room in his/her home may convert it into a classroom simply by adding a chalkboard and chairs. Laguerre (1979) considers such so-called "schools" to have become a lucrative business.

Ecoles de Mission

Such institutions are administered by a mission within the Protestant, Baptist, Adventist, or Pentecostal religions and are always known by the mission name.

Haitian Secondary Education

Students must take entrance examinations to be admitted to any secondary school in Haiti. Entry into the more prestigious institutions, which often restrict the acceptance of applicants severely, is subject to rigorous competition. It must be noted, however, that "connections" often succeed in opening doors which would otherwise be closed to less gifted candidates.

The unprecedented growth of secondary education in recent years is directly related to the increasing importance of formal education for the achievement of economic and social mobility in Haiti. This rapid expansion has entailed problems which include rising costs and limited job opportunities for graduates. A World Development Report (1986, p. 236) indicates that in 1965, only five percent of the student population had enrolled in secondary school. By 1983, these statistics had risen to 13 percent.

The Secondary Cycle in Haitian Schools

The secondary education cycle consists of seven levels which are listed in Table 2.

Table 2

Levels of Haitian Secondary Education: Equivalent in US Schools

U.S. Grade Equivalent	Level	Average Age
14	Philosophie	19-20
13	Rhétorique (Iere)	18
12	2 ème	17
11	3 ème	16
10	4 ème	15
9	5 ème	14
8	6 ème	13

Toward the end of the elementary school cycle, a student must take an examination to qualify for admittance to a secondary schools (**Lycée**: public high school and **collège**, (a private high school).

At this level, known as the **Cycle Secondaire**, successive grades are numbered in descending order, as is customary in the French educational system. The first year is called **Sixième**; the second year, **Cinquième**; the third year, **Quatrième**; the fourth year, **Troisième**; the fifth year, **Seconde**; the sixth year, **Première** or **Rhétorique** (familiarly referred to as "rhéto"); and the final year, **Philosophie**, known as "philo."

Types of Haitian Secondary Schools

The Collèges

Collèges are most often staffed by lay people who may, or may not, be graduates of professional institutions. Teachers at the Sixième, Cinquième, and Quatrième levels, for example, often do not hold a university degree or a diploma from the **Ecole Normale**. In fact, individuals who do not

successfully pass the **Baccalauréat** examinations and/or were denied admission to the State University of Haiti, may choose secondary education as a career.

According to Laguerre (1979, p. 8), the Humanities are generally stressed in these schools because many instructors lack training in the sciences. There is a general shortage of laboratory facilities for such subjects as chemistry and physics in the majority of the schools. Despite these shortcomings, however, many collèges succeed in providing an excellent education for their students.

Ecoles Congréganistes

At the secondary level, the Ecoles Congréganistes segregate male and female students; they are most often operated and staffed by Catholic religious orders, although some of them are run by Protestant missionaries, or by lay people. They are known for their superior facilities, their well-qualified teaching staffs, and their excellent record in fostering student success at passing the State-administered examinations. Admission to one of these schools is contingent upon meeting the requirements of a careful screening process which verifies parental membership in the appropriate Church as well as the financial solvency of the family whose members are expected to pay the necessary fees and tuitions. Laguerre (1979, p. 7) notes that, in addition to a letter of recommendation from a local priest, brother, or nun, evidence of political and social connections is often de rigueur to ensure admittance.

Lycées

As a rule, Lycées are staffed with qualified teachers, most of whom hold a degree from the **Ecole Normale Supérieure** (Teachers' College), from the State University of Haiti, or from a French university. Like their less well-trained elementary counterparts, however, these instructors are poorly paid.

Secondary School Curriculum

The Haitian curriculum focuses largely on the development and disciplining of the mind through the study of Greek and Latin classics, and exposure to the ideas of great thinkers in the past. Today, however, Greek is seldom taught due to the unavailability of trained teachers (M.S.L., personal communication, May 5, 1987). While the subjects and the grade levels of instruction vary, there is generally uniformity in the courses of study offered in the different schools, a centralized tendency derived from the French educational system.

As noted by Simmons (1984), the seven-year curriculum is replete with subjects so that during the first few years, students average some 20-24 hours of instruction per week. This time span increases during the last two years to reach a total of 30-35 hours. Table 3 displays a typical schedule of subjects that students follow during the first five years of secondary school; they are not rigidly prescribed and vary in different institutions. These courses constitute a type of core curriculum which must be taken prior to selecting an academic section. During the last three years of secondary

of secondary education, students continue studying many of the same subjects, but they concentrate on those appropriate to meet the specialization section they have elected to follow.

Table 3

Secondary School Subjects

Subject	6th	5th	4th	3rd	2nd
Biology	x	x	x	x	
Chemistry			x	x	
English	x	x	x	x	x
French	x	x	x	x	x
Geography					
Geology		x			
Latin		x	x	x	x
Mathematics	x	x	x	x	x
Physics			x	x	
Spanish		x	x	x	x

Note. From the Haiti Sector Assessment (p.6-19), published by IESS and USAID,1987, Tallahassee, Fl: The Florida State University.

Deuxième Cycle: Upper Secondary Education

The second cycle of secondary education, the "Humanities" cycle, begins after completion of the Quatrième or Tenth-year class. At this level, the academic curriculum focuses on subject matter that will be tested on the final high school graduation examination, the Bacalauréat. Upon completion of the twelfth or thirteenth year of Première or Rhétorique, the students must take the secondary school national examinations. The majority of those

who prepare for this qualification tend to pursue their studies at the university or other tertiary level training.

Etudes secondaires Classiques

Classical subjects are stressed during upper secondary education in preparation for entrance examinations for the university. This cycle is divided in two stages; Part One, after the Rhétorique year, and Part Two, after the Philosophie year. Prior to reaching these levels, however, students must have undergone three years of basic general preparation in the lower secondary academic schools, where they concentrate on a specialized academic section in Mathematics/Science or Arts and Letters (Haiti Sector Assessment, 1987, p. 6-26).

During the first six years of high school, the learners must select one of three specialization sections: A (Humanities), B (Humanities and Sciences), or C (Sciences). In the Humanities section, studies concentrate on Haitian and French literature as well as on ancient languages, and on Latin and Greek literature. In the Rhetorique; Mathematics, and Science are not prioritized. At the Philosophie level, Latin and Greek are replaced by philosophy. Section B emphasizes Haitian and French literature, English language and Latin or Spanish, and a laboratory science during the Rhétorique. This specialization is offered in a few select private schools but, to date, has not been included in the content of the Baccalauréat examination. Eighty percent of those students who plan to take this qualifying test enroll in the Science Section, which includes course offerings in physics, chemistry, mathematics, and modern languages. They are

complemented with philosophy and additional mathematics subjects during the Philosophie year, at the expense of literature.

Since 1972, a new curriculum option has been established in Haiti: Section D, which concentrates on the natural sciences during the Rhétorique and Philosophie (physics, chemistry, biology) but does devote time to English and literature. It is currently available only in a very few schools.

The Baccalauréat Examinations

Students completing the Troisième may no longer change sections. At the end of the penultimate year of the Rhétorique, pupils may take the Baccalauréat Première Partie (First Part) examination. In order to continue their education, students must receive passing grades in French and Haitian literature, mathematics, sciences (physics, chemistry, biology, and botany), Haitian History, English, and Spanish. For those in the classical track, Latin and Greek are added. The second part of the Bacclauréat, taken after one additional year of study, retests the candidates in most of these subjects, as well as in general philosophy. The second year is called the Baccalauréat of Philosophie.

Simmons (1984, p.53) notes that the examinations last for a period of four days with both morning and afternoon sessions. The students have two chances to pass the test in any given year, one in July, and the other in September.

In the past, the Baccalauréat examination was given only in the capital but, since the beginning of the 1980s, it has been administered in some major Haitian locales such as Cap-Haitien, Gonaives, Cayes, and Jeremie (M.S.L. personal communication, July 2, 1987). Those youngsters who plan on a university education will travel from all surrounding regions to these centers in order to face this testing ordeal. All fear it, for the attrition rate is extremely high. In fact, the entire cycle of secondary education functions as a sorting mechanism for the intellectual elite. Only one-fifth of all entering students ever complete the cycle successfully and, only one-third of those entering secondary school complete their Rhétorique and pass the Baccalauréat 1 examinations.

Grading

The grading system adopted by educators in the island is based on the percentage of "correct" responses, and demonstrated knowledge. The Baccalauréat grading percentiles, converted to equivalent grades in the United States, are outlined in Table 4 as an example of the Haitian method of assessing learning.

Table 4

Baccalauréat Grading (Converted to Percentiles)*

Percentage on Bacc	Suggested U.S. Equivalent
90-100	A- A+
80-89	B+ A-
60-79	B
50-59	C
0-49	F

*N.B. The actual scale used is a total of 1,200-1,600, and the conversion to percentages does not appear on the certificate of examination results.

Usually, Haitian teachers are very "stingy" when it comes to giving grades. Because 50 percent is a passing grade in Haiti, Haitian teachers tend not to be generous when they grade students' reports and papers. American teachers should not equate Haitian grades on reports with the American system (Fouron, personal communication, 12/24/90).

Any high school student who does not achieve the required minimum grade point average at the end of the year is automatically required to repeat the grade if s/he has attained an average deemed acceptable for repeating the examination. And anyone who fails a July examination with the acceptable score is allowed only one additional opportunity to pass the examination in September.

The maximum grade which a learner may earn is 10. Each boy or girl is given a grade book or "bulletin" in which his/her oral and written examination scores, points for grades, and deportment are recorded. Re-take tests are held in September or in early October for eligible students so that the youngsters may obtain tutorial services during the summer months. Subjects tested on the Baccalauréat examination are assigned coefficient values according to the number of required hours of study within the curriculum. Thus, a candidate's grades are determined by the number of points earned, the maximum of which is a total of 1,200-1,600 for all subjects combined.

A score of 50 percent in Haiti is approximately the equivalent of a "C" grade in the United States. Accordingly, a "B" average of 60 percent places a student among the top five percent of the population taking the examination

(Simmons, 1984, p. 54). Until 1982, the Baccalaureat consisted of both a written section, **partie écrite**, and an oral section, **partie orale**, the latter of which has since been eliminated.

Examination scores are the result of weighting of subjects according to the learner's academic section, and the items included on the test vary. Literature and philosophy are of the extended essay type and require analytical reasoning. Classical language questions require translating Latin and Greek phrases into French, but those prepared for modern languages stress not only translation, but also comprehension of idiomatic expressions; in the sciences, the candidates are required to demonstrate their ability to use formulae as a means of solving problems, and in geometry and trigonometry, they are given the opportunity to choose four out of five listed questions. All test items and directions, with the exception of those in foreign languages, are in French.

Brevet Supérieur and Seconde

Haitian students have been accepted into New Jersey public high schools with a brevet superieur certificate. According to Simmons (1984, p.41), this document signifies that at the end of the seconde level, the learners had successfully passed the necessary examination which led to the award of the brevet. In Haiti, this diploma gives them access to the intermediate or upper secondary level of technical training institutions. Today, this examination is no longer given at the completion of the second year.

Once they have the brevet superieur, students can: 1) enroll in a professional program requiring only the Part 1 Certificate, or 2) enter a profession requiring completion of the Baccalauréat 1 examination.

University Admission

Some Haitians consider the Rhétorique year to be sufficient for admission to the university, because it represents 12 years of schooling, although it does not cover the academic content included in the Philosophie. Critics of this viewpoint claim that anyone who has earned only the **High School Completion Certificate, Part 1**, has not successfully completed the full secondary cycle.

Completing the Baccalauréat II is not always indicative that a student is well prepared to enter the college level, however. According to Simmons (1984, p. 57), departments of the State University of Haiti require applicants to take an admission examination, in addition to enrolling for a year of preparation before pursuing specialized study.

Costs and Funding of Secondary Education

In 1984-85, approximately $1.8 million, or 9.4 percent of the total education budget in Haiti was spent on secondary education. It represented a per student cost of 85 dollars (U.S.) for the estimated 21,300 public school pupils during that year. Parents must purchase their children's textbooks and uniforms and, in addition make contributions to defray school operating costs two or three times each year.

Private schools charge tuition generally ranging from $8-$40 monthly (G.E., personal communication, May 1, 1986). Families are also expected to assume such extra expenses as textbooks, uniforms, transportation, and a $30 annual contribution toward operating costs. Financial outlays for the Rheto and Philo usually exceed those of the preceding years. The average cost of attendance at a private school is $125 a year. The figure represents an aggregate private spending on education of approximately $121.1 million. (G.E. personal communication, May 1, 1986.)

Socioeconomic Class and Educational Access

Members of the lower socioeconomic class, particularly in rural areas, continue to be disenfranchised in Haiti. For them, the attainment and completion of primary education is often an exceptional and elusive goal. Despite the growth of secondary education in the country, the financial outlay it entails makes it affordable only to the bourgeoisie and to a small, emerging class of salaried workers, middle range landholders, and owners of small businesses.

According to the World Development Report (1986, p. 180), in 1984, the Haitian annual per capita income was $320 (U.S.), but due to current political and economic uncertainties, many rural dwellers may earn no more than $100 (U.S.) (M.S.L. personal communication, July 14, 1987).

Future Enrollment Predictions

The Biennial Education Plan, 1984-86, projected an average growth rate of 10 percent per annum for secondary school enrollments between 1987-1990.

A 10 percent rate would mean that enrollment in secondary education would double in seven years, and would cause a further expansion of the schools population in the private sector. Student enrollment in private schools is expected to reach 90 percent by 1990-91 (Haiti Sector Assessment, 1987, p. 6-12). Table 5 displays those governmental projections for secondary school enrollments, including the expected decline in the proportion of students attending public schools.

Table 5

Projected Student Enrollment in Secondary Schools: 1987-90

(Thousands of students)

	1987-88	1988-89	1989-90
Projected Student Enrollment	189.0	207.9	228.7
Rhéto	17.0	18.7	20.6
Philo	5.2	5.6	6.1
Percentage in Public Schools	13.1	12.2	11.6

Note. From the Plan Biennal d'Education, 1984-86, Haiti Sector Assessment (p. 6-13), published by IESS and USAID, 1987, Tallahassee, Fl., The Florida State University.

The Educational Reform

The Five Year Development Plan

The Five-Year Plan for Economic and Social Development, 1981-86, places limits on the role of the Government in secondary education. The Haiti

Sector Assessment (1987, pp. 6-4, 6-5) states that the goals for secondary education are long-term and entail making secondary school education more responsive to conditions affecting Haitian life. They include the following:

- Expansion of secondary education to include 10,000 new places annually

- Decentralization of secondary education, which is currently concentrated in two of the island's four regions

To achieve these objectives of the Plan the following steps will be taken:

- Construction of five new lycées

- Revision of the content of secondary education to realize the goals of the secondary level

- Equipping 10 lycées with science laboratories

- Training 4,600 secondary school teachers (800 of whom would work in public schools)

The plan, to be fully implemented by 1991-92, was prepared by the Department d'Education Nationale (DEN), the **Institut Pédagogique National (IPN)** an appointed Curriculum Committee, and UNESCO. The role of the IPN, which is responsible for in-service training of high school teachers, was to formulate the restructuring of secondary education for coordination with the proposed Reform.

In 1978, primary schools, urban and rural, were merged into the DEN, in order to ensure that all students would be provided eventually with an educational opportunity, through the restructuring of the educational system. As a result of this transfer, three cycles of basic education, totaling 10 years, were established--four, three, and three years--, followed by three years of secondary education (DEN, 1982, p.19). In March 1982, new curricula and syllabi for this educational sequence were introduced into the schools.

New Curricula and Syllabi

The new curriculum for grades one through four includes the four subjects of reading, writing, mathematics, and environmental sciences, all to be taught in Creole, with three months of school readiness skills in the first grade. The new syllabi, textbooks, workbooks, teacher guides, and teacher aids, which are intended to accompany the curricula are to be developed by the Curriculum and Educational Materials Unit of the IPN. Once completed, these materials will be reviewed by the Curriculum Committee and DEN prior to their distribution to the schools, both public and private, where their use will be mandatory to the exclusion of all others. Teachers guides and teaching aids will be made available free of charge to all public and rural private institutions, but their cost will have to be borne by urban private schools. Parents, in turn, will be required to purchase their children's texts and workbooks from commercial outlets at prices established by the government to ensure their affordability and availability to children.

Instructional Innovations Under the Reform

Instructional innovations in the Reform include the following:

1) The use of Creole as the language of instruction in grades one through four;

2) A teacher assigned to a class with a cohort for two years in the classroom;

3) Grouping children in classrooms according to ability;

4) Evaluating student performance by intermediate trimestral objectives, and moving them accordingly among groups;

5) Increasing the participation of students in learning activities by utilizing their individual experiences and capabilities, and by stressing discovery learning rather than relying on memorization;

6) Automatic promotion between grades one and two, and between grades three and four. During each of these two-year periods, children would move at their own pace in achieving objectives set for grades two and four.

Teacher training has already been initiated to enable instructors to function effectively within the various aspects of the educational innovations. It is conducted by the staff of Teacher Training Colleges and Regional Pedagogical Centers (CPRs).

Modernization of Educational Administration

Regional departments are currently being formed by the government to carry out administrative reform. These measures will effect reorganization and decentralization of DEN, in accordance with the Organic Law of 1979, which created a new Department of Education and assigned specific functions to its various constituents. A new Director General has been appointed to head the organization, and functional departments have been created, which include: Planning, Instruction and Pedagogical Assistance, Education, Personnel and Administration.

Response to the Reform

The educational Reform has faced enormous difficulties in its implementation. In January 1983, approximately one-third of first grade classrooms were using the new course of study, which were taught in Creole. It aimed at providing a better education to all students, yet it has not been equally well-received by all segments of the population, and its implementation has been slow.

At the international conference, "Haiti: A Nation in Agony," presented at Seton Hall University on May 1 through 3, 1987, presenters from

Port-au-Prince stated that several pilot schools in the Reform plan had been vandalized and their textbooks in Creole were burned. It was further mentioned that in spite of the setback, plans for further implementation of the Reform would not be abandoned. The current fiscal crisis in Haiti, however, has not ameliorated the educational situation in Haiti.

By January of 1983, only one-third of first grade classrooms used the new curriculum, and even now, it is not universally in place throughout the country. These delays are attributed to the many technical problems which must also be solved to bring about the proposed Reform, including the need for teachers to re-evaluate and reorganize their traditional teaching styles and to become literate in written Creole. The major difficulty, however, is linguistic, for most of the opposition to the 1982 Reform, then and now, centered on the use of the native idiom for instruction. The debate on this issue greatly transcends pedagogical levels in Haiti; it touches upon a fundamental developmental question for the country, whether or not Creole can become the official language of the country and, if so, what would be the implications of such a policy for the present social and economic structure? Whatever may be the outcome of this argumentation, it will affect the full implementation of the educational Reform as it is now conceived.

Student/Teacher Relationships

Educators occupy a high status position in the school and community and their authority over the students is absolute. They are often feared as well as respected by children, for they are granted the latitude to mete out corporal punishment to the youngsters with a strap or a bamboo stick. All pupils must rise when teachers enter the room, and they bow respectfully to an instructor when they encounter him/her in the street.

In high schools, teachers address students formally by their last names. This social distance in classroom interaction is further reinforced by the fact that the communication process flows only in one direction, from the adult to the learners who speak only when they are called upon to answer a question. At times, however, a teacher may depart from this ritual behavior, and make a show of deference toward sons and daughters of the elite (Y.D. personal communication, September 22, 1981).

Parental Involvement in the Schools

The role of parents in Haitian schools varies according to urban and rural areas. Because many students reside in Port-au-Prince away from their families, they are tempted to play truant, and may attend school only if they are summoned by the authorities. Parent-teacher conferences are not common in urban areas; fathers and mothers are usually called to school only in cases of extreme misbehavior on the part of their offspring, or whenever tuition, or other educational fees have not been paid.

In rural areas, where everybody knows everybody else, teachers frequently visit the homes of students to discuss problems directly with their fathers and mothers. In such locations, a child's academic and social performance is transmitted throughout the community by word of mouth through a communication system known as <u>telediòl</u> (De Regt, 1983, p. 13). This phenomenon functions as an effective mechanism for the control of student behavior, for the publicized conduct of a boy or girl is a reflection on the reputation of the entire family, and parental retaliation for misbehavior is accordingly generally severe if not merciless.

Teachers as Disciplinarians

Parent Teacher Associations and other organizations common to the United States usually do not exist in Haiti. Parental input into school policy or curriculum is neither sought nor encouraged by the authorities. The teacher is entrusted to act as a surrogate for the child's father and mother. The latters' role at home is to ensure that offspring complete their homework and study their lessons daily.

Classroom behavior, such as talking aloud or using Creole in class (before the Reform), is not tolerated by Haitian teachers who rule over their classes with an iron hand. Accordingly, those children who emigrate to the United States are unaccustomed to the democratic principles and atmosphere which prevail in public schools here. In fact, many of them are at first very disturbed by the fact that teachers are not treated with as much respect in this country as they are in Haiti. They find it difficult to adjust to the open, informal two-way interaction which takes place in the American

classroom. And when they do attempt to participate in this more informal learning process, they may exceed the bound of permitted behavior unknowingly, while mimicking their Anglophone peers in an exaggerated way for social acceptance.

Conclusion

It is apparent from the data which have been reviewed on the educational system of Haiti that the schools are beset by serious problems which hinder the provision of basic learning opportunities for many children. The inadequacies which prevail in the areas of teacher preparation, school facilities, instructional materials, language of instruction, and student access to education may be expected to cause difficulties for these Creole-speaking students entering public schools in New Jersey.

In the United States, Haitian youngsters are confronted with a new and demanding environment which places unfamiliar intellectual pressure upon them, and requires them to function in yet another foreign idiom, English. Clearly, their prior life and learning experiences do not equip them with the independence of mind and the self-directed academic skills needed to transfer successfully from a rigid and narrow authoritarian system of education to one based on individual freedom, social responsibility, and equal opportunity for all. For the Haitian students, the transition from a rigid elite-oriented educational system to one based on equality and individual freedom is difficult.

SECTION II

Significant Differences Between Haitian Creole and French

French has been the official language of Haiti since 1697, and was used in Haiti's original proclamation of independence (Racine, 1970, p. 53). The 1918 Constitution, written during the American occupation, reaffirmed that French is the official language. "Its use is required in public services." French and Creole were also used in official documents prior to the 1918 Constitution.

Haiti is neither a diglossic (i.e., the existence of two language varieties within a given speech community which perform different social functions) nor a bilingual nation since only five percent of the population speaks both standard French and Haitian Creole fluently, while another five percent display varying levels of French proficiency. The remaining 90 percent of the inhabitants are monolingual speakers of Haitian Creole. (YVES Dejean, Personal communication, 9/20/1981).

The 1969 Constitution (Article 29 in fine) addressed the use of Haitian Creole for the monolingual majority in special circumstances: "The law determines the cases and conditions in which the use of Creole is permitted and even recommended for the safeguard of the material and moral interests of those citizens who do not have a sufficient knowledge of the French language."

A December 18, 1979 decree which instituted the educational Reform, specified:

> In order to make education accessible to all [and] in order to safeguard cultural unity... The use of Creole, as a language spoken by 90 percent of the Haitian population, is allowed in the schools as a classroom vehicle (langue instrument) and subject of instruction (objet d'enseignement).

Valorization of Creole is evidenced further in the 1983 Constitution of Haiti, which declared both French and Creole to be national languages of the state (Article 62). The 1987 Constitution recognized Creole to be an official language.

The language situation of Haiti is inextricably linked with education. As stated by De Regt (1984, p. 125),

> all education has been presented in the French media, imposing a learning and emotional barrier on the rural child. The gap between the classroom (Francophone environment) and the home (Creolophone environment) generates a duality in the early childhood experience which negatively affects intellectual and emotional development.

French and Creole are two distinct languages, not two varieties of the same language. As Valdman (1986) pointed out, they are genetically related in the way that French and Latin are. In terms of distribution, Haitian Creole is used in all forms of communication. In rural areas, as Valdman (1986, p. 65), emphasized,

> All intellectual, psychological, and social needs are served by Haitian Creole. The vernacular tongue has gained entry to all spheres of rural and lower class life and culture.

The Origin of Haitian Creole

Before 1690, Haitian Creole did not exist (Bickerton, 1981, p. 1). The term creole derives from the Portuguese word crioulo, meaning an individual of European ancestry born and reared abroad. A Creole language, according to Bickerton (1981, p. 2), refers to any verbal communication which was once known as a "pidgin" and subsequently became a people's "native tongue." This definition has been extended by some scholars to include any idiom, ex-pidgin or not, that has undergone massive structural change due to language contact.

The traditional francocentric account of the formation of French Creole idioms, according to Racine (1970, p. 20), is that they came about during the colonial period as a result of the interaction between French masters and their African slaves. Thus, a pidgin French developed from contact with African languages.

Linguists differ in their opinions as to the origins of specific features of Creole; some emphasize African influence greatly, while others do not. Hall (1953, p. 372), among others, believed that,

> The 'basic' relationship of Creole is with seventeenth century French with heavy carryovers or survivals of African linguistic structure on a more superficial structural level from the previous language(s) of the earliest speakers of Negro Pidgin French; and the 'lexical' relationship is with nineteenth century French.

Valdman (1970, p. 7), however, asserted that Haitian Creole was best viewed as a contact language derived from two basically Romance types of

speech--overseas non-standard French, and Afro-Portuguese Pidgin. The latter, he claimed, had developed in the fifteenth century when the Portuguese began to trade extensively on the western and southern coasts of Africa. Afro-Portuguese Pidgin, which probably derived from a Lingua Franca, resulted from a need to communicate with tribal chiefs and traders along the African coast. The lexical composition of the language emanated from a variety of sources, including a mixture of some African features and forms from Portuguese and other Romance languages. Spanish, Dutch, and English merchants used Afro-Portuguese Pidgin as a trade language on the eastern seas, while Africans in the slave trade learned it as they waited in African barracoons prior to their departure for the New World, or on board the slave trader ships.

The majority of the first settlers of Saint Domingue were often purging prison sentences. They came from different French provinces and, thus, spoke diverse patois or regional varieties of French not spoken by the Parisian bourgeoisie. Slaves were exposed to nonstandard speech forms upon arrival in Saint Domingue. Out of these contacts grew a new language-- Haitian Creole --which retained a discernable French lexical base, but nevertheless evolved eventually into a distinct linguistic system.

Today, Haitian Creole is an independent idiom which satisfies the communicative needs of the population. Many of its specific features are likely to affect the way in which a native speaker acquires English in the areas of phonology, morphology, and syntax.

Haitian Creole and French: Considerations for the English Learner

There are non-Haitian educators who consider Haitian Creole to be very similar to French. The purpose of this section is to illustrate differences which distinguish Haitian Creole from standard French. It also intends to illustrate potential areas where Haitian LEP students may experience problems in learning the English language. The following include linguistic elements which may initially affect the development of English/Creole bilingualism:

1. Differences in the phonological systems of Haitian Creole and English

2. Variations in the morphological systems of Haitian Creole and English

3. Differences in the syntactical systems of Haitian Creole and English

4. Variations in the characteristics of the Haitian Creole orthographic system

5. Phonological, syntactical, and lexical contrasts prevailing between Haitian Creole and standard French.

The Phonological System of Haitian Creole

The Haitian Creole Graphemes and Phonemes

The Haitian Creole alphabet is composed of the following letters:

a, b, ch, d, e, è, f, g, h, i, j, k,l, m,

n, o, ò, p, r, s, t, v, w, x, y, z

Their use and distribution are not identical in the three idioms. The letter /ch/, for instance, occurs in Haitian Creole only in combination with "h". The Creole alphabet comprises one accent, the existing accent grave(\ ). It is used above the grapheme to modify its sound. Note that the accent aigu (/) is no longer used in Haitian creole. An "e", without an accent is an open "e." Three graphemes, "a, e, o" may also be combined with "n," and "o" with "u", to create new phonemes. Thus, each graphic symbol or group of symbols in Haitian Creole has one phonetic value, as may be noted in Table 6.

Table 6

Sound/Letter Correspondence in Creole, French, and English

Creole Grapheme(s)	Sound Symbol Used	Creole Words	Corresponding French	Approximate Sound in English Words
a,a	/a/	Papa	Papa	papa
b	/b/	bòl	bol	bowl
ch	/s/	chen	chien	shine
d	/d/	dat	date	date
e	/e/	espas	espace	*
è	/è/	tè	thé	say
ê	/ɛ/	tèt	tête	tell
f	/f/	fasil	facile	facile
g	/g/	bag	la bague	bag
h	/h/	anyen	rien	uh huh
i	/i/	piti	petit	pity
j	/j/	garaj	garage	garage
k	/k/	kado	cadeau	caddy
l	/l/	lwil	huile	Louis
m	/m/	mato	marteau	mat
n	/n/	nòs	noces	nostril
o	/o/	foto	photo	photo
ò	/ɔ/	mò	mort	more
p	/p/	pòt	porte	poor
r	/r/	rat	rat	rat
s	/s/	sòs	sauce	sauce
t	/t/	tomat	tomate	tomato
v	/v/	vèt	vert	veteran
w	/w/	woma	homard	worm
y	/y/	ye	hier	yes
z	/z/	zye	yeux	zipper
an	/an/	bank	banque	bank
ann	/ann/	vann	vendre	*
on	/ɔn/	son	son	sound
onn	/onn/	ponn	pondre	*
en	/ɛn/	pen	pain	*
enn	/enn/	venn	veine	vein

*There is no English approximation.

Phoneme and Grapheme Correspondence

1. Unlike standard French, /t/ never stands for /s/ in Haitian Creole; For instance, attention is spelled atansyon in Creole.

2. In Haitian Creole, /z/ replaces the /s/ of standard French in words which have a /z/ sound. For example, l'église (church), is written legliz in Creole.

3. Everything that is written in Haitian Creole is pronounced.

   /tèt/, /rad/, /lèt/, /goud/, /vaz/

Transformation From French to Creole

While some French words have remained identical in Haitian Creole, most of them are now different from their original etyma in form because of divergencies between the two systems at the phonological level. In general, the majority of French words adopted by Creole have undergone some transformations. Racine (1970), cites the following in her work:

1. Creole often introduces a prosthetic /e/ before the cluster /s/ followed by one of the consonants k, m, n, p, or t.

   Creole: eskandal, French: scandale

The English word "specifically," may, therefore, be prononced "especifically" by a Haitian LEP student.

2. As a rule, /r/ is retained in word and syllable-initial position and is generally followed by a vowel or semivowel.

   Creole: rape (grab) French: raper (grate)

   It is dropped in word and syllable-final position in all dialects of Creole except the Northern dialect.

   Creole: pòt (door) French: porte

   The English word "port" may thus, be voiced as "pò."

3. Consonant clusters containing a stop or a fricative followed by /r/ or /l/ are reduced to stop or fricative in final position.

   Creole: pwòp (clean) French: propre

   The English word 'probably' will often become "pwobab" in the speech of Haitian students.

4. In Haitian Creole, the final consonant clusters /sm/ and /st/, are reduced to /s/.

   Creole: touris (tourist) French: touriste

The English word 'tourist' is often pronounced "touris" by most Haitian LEPs.

5. The consonant cluster /ks/ after /e/ becomes /s/.

   Creole: eskize French: excuser

   The English word, "express" may be pronounced "espress."

6. The following consonant sounds do not occur in Haitian Creole: aspirated /h/ in initial position, /th/ unvoiced, and /th/ voiced. Native speakers of that language may, therefore, make the following pronunciation errors in English:

   "home" becomes, "ome";
   "thing" becomes "ting";
   "that" becomes "dat";
   "then" becomes "den";
   "tooth" becomes "toot."

Phonemic Contrasts Between French, Creole and English in the "r" Sound

The spelling system used in Haitian Creole provides a one-to-one correspondence between phonemes and graphemes. A specific contrast exists in the writing and sound systems with respect to the pronunciation of /r/ in standard French, Haitian Creole, and English, and in its distribution in the latter two languages.

In Haitian Creole, the /r/ is produced by a very light contact of the back of the tongue with the soft palate, in contrast to the soft palate fricative pronunciation in French. In English, /r/ is articulated with the tip of the tongue in retroflex position. Valdman (1970, p. 12) describes the closest English equivalent to the Haitian /r/ sound that of /g/ when it occurs between two vowels within a word pronounced with very slight contact, as in the English pronunciation of Peggy.

Haitian Creole	French	English
/ɣ/ velar	/ʁ/ soft palate fricative	/ɹ/ retroflexed

1. The Haitian Creole /r/ is not clearly differentiated from the semivowel /w/ when it occurs before a rounded vowel and after a non-labial consonant. Consequently, it will often be substituted for an /r/ in English in the initial position of a word, as a result of a phonemic transfer from the Haitian Creole language.

/r/ vs. /w/

Haitian Creole	French	English
pwoblem	probleme	problem

2. / / is replaced by the semivowel /w/ when it precedes a rounded back vowel.

/ou/, /o/, /ò/, /on/

Haitian Creole	French	English
Woje	Roger	Roger

Haitian Creole	French	English
gwo	gros	large
twop	trop	too much
twa	trois	three
kwa	croix	cross

3. / / also gives way to /w/ when it follows a labial consonant.

Haitian Creole	French	English
bwe	boire	to drink

4. The /ɣ/ in syllable-final position causes lengthening of preceding vowels and may either disappear or may be articulated very weakly (Racine, 1970, p. 104).

Haitian Creole	French
sè	soeur
pou	pour
lanmè	la mer
dòmi	dormir

Nor is it found in pre-consonental position:

Haitian Creole	French
cham	charme

These factors may cause a student to omit the final /r/ of words in English; thus, "dollar" may be pronounced "dola," and "teacher," "teachè."

Personal Pronouns: Uncontracted and Contracted

The same pronouns perform different functions in Haitian Creole. Haitian Creole pronouns do not vary according to function in the sentence. They may be uncontracted or contracted.

Person	Uncontracted	Contracted	Number
1	mwen	m	I (singular)
2	ou	w	you
3	li	l	he, she, it
1	nou	n	we (plural)
2	nou	n	you
3	yo	y	they

The short (contracted) form is used before particles:

N ap manje.	We are eating.
L ap etidye.	She is studying.

Its long (uncontracted) counterpart may be employed before consonants and at the end of a sentence:

Li pale avek mwen.	He speaks to me.

Examples of Contracted Subject Pronouns

Singular

Pronoun	Sentence	Meaning
mwen, m	M kapab pale kreyòl.	I can speak Creole.
ou, w	W ap monte paten.	You are skating.
li, l	L ale nan lanmè.	She goes to the sea.

Plural

nou, n	N a wè.	We'll see you.
nou, n	N a fini	You will finish.
yo, y	Y ap pale.	They are speaking.

Because of the nature of the third person singular pronoun in Haitian Creole, Haitian LEP students may have difficulty in learning the varied forms of third person singular pronouns in English.

Li renmen mwen,	He likes me.
M renmen-li (he/she/it)	I like him/her/it

Emphatic Subject Personal Pronouns

1. These pronouns are used to place emphasis on the subject of a verb or when there is an opposition between two or more subjects. These are the emphatic pronouns:

French	Haitian Creole	English
Moi-meme	mwen-menm	I, myself
Vous-meme	ou-menm	you, yourself
lui-meme	li-menm	he, she, it, himself, etc.
Nous-memes	nou-menm	we, ourselves
	yo-menm	they, themselves
eux-memes (masculin)		
elles-memes (feminin)		

Example: Se ou-menm menm! It is you!

2. When it functions as an emphatic marker, menm cannot be equated with any English near-equivalent word. It must be translated in terms of the context in which it occurs.

Example:	Ayiti menm	in Haiti
	Isit-la menm	here

When it is used to modify a pronoun, menm is preceded by a hyphen. Elsewhere it is written as an independent word.

L ap ale li-menm. He's going by himself.

Contrast Between Haitian Creole and Standard French

1. In contrast with French, Creole nouns are not gramatically marked for gender; they have one neuter form. Plural is denoted in certain circumstances by the addition of a marker (la or yo) at the end of the noun which, otherwise, remains unchanged in form.

   tab-la the table tab-yo the tables

   When learning to write English, Haitians may initially omit the addition of /s/ to form the plural. "The United States" may be written (and pronounced) by them as "the United State."

2. A number of French words, especially verbs, have been incorporated into Creole. Without their first syllable.

   Creole: rive (arrive) French: arriver

The Syntactical System of Haitian Creole

The Verb System

The verb system of Haitian Creole differs markedly from that of French for it places a priority on a variety of factors which do not exist in French.

The Use of Verb Markers

Creole verbs do not signal tense, mood, or aspect; categories are indicated by free morphemes that precede the invariable verb form:

1. Zero marker: An unmarked form of a verb may be used with a wide range of meaning.

   Mwen manje. I ate, I eat, I usually eat.
   (The action has just taken place.)

2. ap (or ape southern Haiti exclusively): 'continuitive' marker denotes an action in progress.

   This morpheme indicates an action in process, thereby pointing to the non-punctual aspect of the verb, that is, continuation, which is equivalent to the progressive (ing) form in English.

Haitian Creole	English
M ap manje diri.	I am eating rice.

When ap is used to express future time, the action is emphatic.

L ap vini pita.	She's coming later.

3. te: 'past perfective' marker

In Creole, "te" shows that an action has been completed in the definite past.

Mwen te manje.	I have eaten.
Lè m rive, li te soti.	When I arrived, he had gone.

4. a (av, ava): 'future' markers

"A" and its variants av and ava., indicate the future.

M a manje diri.	I might eat rice (uncertainty).
N a wè demen.	We'll see each other tomorrow.
but, M pral manje diri	I will eat rice (certain).

b. Te (followed by ap tap) used in combination conveys both past and continuitive (habitual) meaning.

M ta manje anpil si m te ak zanmi-m.

I would eat a lot if I were with my friends.

c. te (merged with ta): expresses the conditional or the conditional perfect.

M ta manje anpil diri.

I would eat a lot of rice.

Si m te gen anpil lajan, m ta achte-l.

If I had a lot of money, I would buy it.

Verbs With Two Forms

Certain verbs in Haitian Creole have two forms--a short one and a long one.

Long Form	Short Form	
ale	al	to go
fini	fin	to finish
genyen	gen	to go
konnen	konn	to know
kapab	ka, kab	to be capable
mete	met	to be able, can
pòte	pòt	to bring
rete	ret	to live, to stop
sòti	sòt	to come, to leave from, (just)
vini	vin	to come

The long form is required when it ends a statement.

Nou fin manje.	We finished eating.
Nan ki peyi ou sòti?	What country are you from?

The Verb "to be"

The verb "to be" is absent in sentences with adjectives in which the subjects are understood.

Li fò.	He is strong.
Li la.	It is there.

A Haitian Creole-speaker may therefore say in English: "He strong." or, "It there."

The Use of "Se"

Racine (1970, p. 111) points out that the copula "se" is expressed if the complement is a pronoun or a noun phrase,

1. For example, the form "se" is used with nouns that denote a profession and/or nationality:

M se pwofesè.	I am a teacher.
Yo se ameriken.	They are American.
Li se tayè.	He is a tailor.

2. The emphatic form is marked by se at the beginning of the sentence and ye at the end.

Regular	Emphatic
Li se doktè.	She's a doctor.
Se doktè li ye.	It's a doctor (that she is).
Li nan kay.	She/He's at home.
Se nan kay li ye.	It's at home (that) she/he is.

Interrogative Sentences

Interrogative sentences may be formed by using a rising intonation, or by initiating the sentence with the morpheme "eske" in combination with a rising intonation.

1. Yes/no questions may be constructed by changing the intonation of the corresponding declarative sentence from falling to rising.

Gason-an ale lavil.(↘)	The man went to town.
Gason-an ale lavil?(↗)	Did the man go to town?

2. The interrogative marker eske may be placed before the corresponding declarative sentence and the intonation changed from falling to rising. In English, a Haitian Creole-speaker might say, "Is it the man go to town? "

The Use of 'Ye'

The linking verb ye occurs in the interrogative-form of sentences that have no copula equivalent to the English "to be." It is a special form, equal to se and zero copula, and it always occurs at the end of the sentence.

Ki kote yo ye?	Where are they?
Ki jan ou ye?	How are you?

Adjectives

Although adjectives do not generally precede the noun, bel (pretty) is an exception.

Li se yon bel fanm.	She's a pretty woman.

The Noun System in Haitian Creole

Types of Nouns

Gender

Nouns have no gender in Haitian Creole:

Se yon gason.	He's a man.
Se yon fanm.	She's a woman.

Because nouns are likewise genderless in English, they do not present a problem for Haitian LEP students.

Definite Articles

1. Singular

The definite article in Haitian Creole is always placed after the noun. The selection of the correct form of the article for each noun is based on the last segment of the noun.

The singular takes these forms:

la, a, an, la, nan

la: after a noun ending with a non-nasal consonant sound.

bab-la	the beard
tab-la	the table

a: when the preceding word ends with a vowel.

kafe-a	the coffee
chapo-a	the hat
flè-a	the flower

an: when the preceding word ends with a nasal vowel an, en, or on.

kreyon-an	the pencil
pen-an	the bread
pon-an	the bridge

nan, lan: occur after a nasal consonant and are used by some speakers when the preceding word does not end with a nasal segment but where there is some nasal sound in the immediate environment.

The order of definite articles in English may be problematic for Haitian Creole-speakers initially, but the correct placement is usually acquired rapidly.

Plurality

The definite noun marker la, which occurs in four variants: la, a, nan, an, has the plural form yo. Creole nouns are invariable and have the same form whether singular or plural.

pòt-la	the door
pòt-yo	the doors

The plural is marked only when a noun is particularized.

M gen chat.	I have cats.
Kote chat-yo?	Where are the cats?

On pluralizing in English, Haitian LEPs may use a singular form and say, "I have two cat" or, "Where are the cat?"

Negation

1. Sentences are made negative when the particle pa (not), "do not," "does not," and "did not" is inserted before the predicate.

M pa kwè.	I do not believe.
N pa vle tande.	We don't want to hear.

2. The negative particle may be accompanied by negative adverbs following it, or negative nominals, occuring after the verb (Valdman, 1970, p. 37).

Yo pap fe anyen.	They aren't doing anything.

Thus, Haitians may tend to use double negatives when speaking English.

"They do not do nothing."

The Lexical System of Haitian Creole

French Lexical Base in Haitian Creole

As Valdman (1978, p. 163) demonstrated, the vocabulary of Haitian Creole has a strong French lexical base in which varying types of cognates are found. This borrowing is evident in basic terms, such as those listed below:

French	Creole	English
bon	bon	good
eau (de l'eau)	dlo	water
gros, grand	gwo, gran	big
corne	klaKsonn	horn
long	long	long
mourir	mouri	die
garçon	gason	man
plume	plim	pen
racine	rasinn	root
soleil	solèy	sun
terre	latè	earth
venir	vini	come
os (les os)	zo	bone

False Cognates Found in French, Haitian Creole, and English

While the majority of lexical items in Haitian Creole are of French origin, their meanings have often changed over time and have acquired a significance of their own in Creole. Although many Haitian words have a similar written form in French and English they differ considerably in content in the three languages, as may be noted from the following examples:

un, une	yon, la, lan	a, an
(indefinite determiner) (It also stands for "one," referring to a single item.)	(definite determiner)	(indefinite determiner)

French	Creole	English
l'habitant	abitan	inhabitant
inhabitant resident	rural dweller	one who occupies an area
actionner	aksyonè	action
to sue	impudent, shamelessly bold	the state of acting or being active
l'audience	odyans	audience
a hearing	to tell jokes	a group of spectators
la boutique	boutik	boutique
shop (small, exclusive) store	Small store "Mama and Papa" store	exclusive small- shop (French borrowing)
la bosse	bòs	boss
hump, lump	craftsman, chief	one who employs or supervises others
le bouc	bouk	book
billy goat	rural village, billy goat	a written or printed literary composition
la cabane	kaban	cabin
hut, shanty	bed	rural dwelling room in a shop
le cabaret	kabare	cabaret
tavern, night club	tray	a restaurant with dance floor and floor show
le cap	kap	cap
headland	kite; headland	a close-fitting covering for the head

la casquette	kaskèt	casket
visored cap	cap	a coffin
la figue	fig	fig
fig	banana	fig
filer	file	to file
to spin, to leave	to sharpen to court	to classify
fréquent	frekan	frequent
frequent	impudent, enterprising with women	happening or occurring at short intervals
la gourde	goud	gourd
gourd, flask	monetary unit of Haiti	the fruit of any cucurbitaceous plants
le lac	lak la	lack
lake	lake	absence
la marinade	marinad	marinade
brine, marinade	batter fried into fritters	a blend of condiments for food preparation
la mitte	mit	mitt
stench	soft part of bread	a hand protector
ordinaire	òdinè	ordinary
common	vulgar, coarse	common
la plaque	plak	plaque
plate, sheet	a record	a hanging wall ornament

It is apparent from this list that Haitian LEPs might initially use or interpret these cognates incorrectly in English.

Lexical Borrowings

In addition to its French lexical base, Haitian Creole contains words borrowed from several sources including the following:

Amerindian

Arawak

patat 'potato'
(also 'patate"
in French)

Aztec

sapoti (type of fruit)
Mapou (ceiba tree)

English

chadek 'grapefruit' — Named for Shaddock, the individual who introduced the cultivation of grapefruit into Haiti.

djòb 'job'
ponch 'punch'
stimido 'stevedore'
sebòd 'sideboard'
bokit 'bucket'

Spanish	Haitian Creole	
boleta	bòlet	lottery ticket
cabecear	kabicha	little nap
cimarrón	maron	fugitive
morro	mònn	mountain
sienta	chita	sit

Portugese

curaçao	kowosol	type of fruit

African

wanga	wanga	fettish
boa, lea	lwa	voodoo spirit
ongan	houngan	voodoo priest
ounsi	hounsi	Voodoo novice
zonbi	zonbi	phantom spirit
banboula	banbou	musical instrument

Carib

canoe	kannòt	canoe

Initially, lexical borrowings should not cause interference for Haitian Creole-speakers learning English. With experience, they add to the lexical repertoire of Haitians learning English.

Conclusion

This analysis of significant differences highlights some of the difficulties which native speakers of Creole may have in expressing themselves in English. Teachers of English as a second language may find it useful in helping their students of Haitian origin gain mastery of English.

Since language and culture are inextricably mixed and not mutually exclusive, through increased knowledge, teachers with sensitivity and awareness can expect greater success in reaching students.

SECTION III

Classroom Considerations

Useful Words and Phrases

Creating a communications base and establishing rapport are the first challenges faced by Anglo educators in working with Haitian Creole-speakers. Greeting and welcoming a Haitian Creole-speaker in his/her native language is a considerate way of saying "hello" and making friends. The following list contains useful expressions accompanied by corresponding transliteration:

English	Haitian Creole	Transliteration
Hi!	Alo!	(ah-low)
Good morning/day	Bonjou	(boon-ZHEW)
Good afternoon/evening	Bonswa	(bon-SWA)
What is your name?	Ki jan ou rele?	(kee jan oo ray lay)
My name is ...	M rele...	(m rele)
Where do you live?	Ki Kote ou rete?	(kee ko TAY oo ray TAY)
What is your telephone number?	Ki nimewo telefòn ou?	(kee new meh-no tele FON OO)
Please	tanpri, souple (silvouple)	(soo-PLAY)
Sit down!	Chita!	(SHEE-tah)
Stand up!	Kanpe!	(kan-PAY)

Assisting Haitian Students in U.S. Classrooms

The following items highlight aspects of the Haitian LEPs' transition to the American school system:

1. Many Haitian immigrants are faced with the imposition of racism in the United States. They assert their place in society by maintaining ties with Haiti as they search for a positive identity in this country (Glick Schiller and Fouron, 1990). A period of orientation into the new school environment is not only beneficial, but also necessary to ensure his/her adaptation to "alien" expectations and procedures.

2. The American system of changing classes for each subject is a new experience for Haitians which needs to be explained to them.

3. The pedagogical techniques and practices prevailing in the United States are diametrically opposed to those favored in Haiti. A transition period should be provided to acquaint the learners with these different teaching systems and help them develop the skills needed to cope with them effectively.

4. Haitians need to learn how to participate in classroom activities. They should be instructed on how and when to ask and answer questions in class.

5. Because books and other learning materials are scarce and expensive in Haiti, the wide range and availability of the learning materials

used in American schools may be confusing to children who have been exposed to a scarcity of them in their previous school environment. Such documents should be introduced slowly and explained carefully to them.

6. Limited English proficient students need to learn school rules, as well as the reasons behind them.

7. Haitian students need to understand that scolding by American teachers will not result in harsh corporal punishment, and that lying about a misbehavior is considered a more serious offense here than the original transgression itself.

8. Because there is a paucity of libraries in Haitian schools, students generally have had no opportunity to develop alphabetizing or research skills. Therefore, special attention will be given to developing these skills.

9. The phonetic approach which island children still practice in their homeland have equipped them with excellent decoding skills which they apply to their texts in ESL classes. Because of an egregious lack of suitable instructional materials and opportunities for experiental learning, memorization is emphasized. However, these "surface" skills may be misleading, in that they may conceal the fact that the youngsters' comprehension of the linguistic content of the readings may be limited.

10. Because the passing grade in the homeland is 50, Haitian entrants need to be made aware of the numerical and/or letter grading systems used in American schools, and of their meaning in terms of academic success and/or failure.

Testing

1. Haitian students should be familiarized with the types of tests and test-taking techniques employed by American teachers and students, prior to being subjected to any assessment. Otherwise, their performance will not be truly reflective of their ability.

2. Examinations are an extremely serious matter in Haiti, and scores play a vital role in shaping Haitian society, for they determine whether or not a youngster will be retained, promoted, or allowed to continue in the educational system of the homeland. For these reasons, Haitian children in the United States need training in anxiety-reduction strategies to release them from test-taking apprehension.

3. When initially testing Haitian students, after preparing them for the experience, it may be preferable to employ oral examinations whenever possible, since students may possess no literacy skills in any language.

4. Literate Haitian students have been exposed only to essay tests. They will have to be taught how to study for answering objective-type questions, such as multiple choice, true-false, and matching.

5. Because a passing grade in Haiti is 50 percent, Haitian educators are not generous in grading practices.

Nonverbal Cues

Most Haitians are used to living near each other. Accordingly, their proxemic behavior may be disturbing to an American for they tend to stand within touching distance of an interlocutor in face-to-face interaction. At the same time, their kinesic signals may be misleading, for they use very little direct eye contract but tend to employ a great many hand gestures, much in the manner of the French.

Differences in the Haitian and American Mathematical Systems

Numeration is basically similar in the Haitian and American system but there are some variations in mathematical symbols and computational processes which are likely to create confusion for both the learners and their instructors.

1) Measurement System

Haitians use the metric system. The one exception to this rule is that lengths of fabrics are not counted in meters, but instead by aunes, (One aune equals one meter, 18 centimeters), a survival from olden days in France. Haitian students may quite possibly be familiar with American measurements, but they are unlikely to understand the concepts which are at the core of the American system.

2) Decimal Signals

In writing figures, periods and commas are used in an opposite manner in Haiti, as may be noted in the examples provided here. These differences may result in apparent errors of calculation in mathematical operations.

Haitian	American
0,5	0.5 or .5
0,75	.75
1,000	1.000
2,250	2.250

3) Graphic Symbols

When they are handwritten, the graphic symbol of the digits "1" and "7", which are written French style, differ in shape from their American counterparts accordingly, a Haitian "1" will look like a seven to a teacher, and an American "7" will be read as a one by the LEP entrant. In either case, apparent miscalculations will occur, which are due to graphic variations, rather than deficiencies in mathematical skills.

Haitian	American
1	1
7	7

4) Multiplication Proof

The following method is taught to chidren in Haiti to proof multiplication problems:

1) Add digits in the multiplicand. If this sum is more than one digit, repeat the process until the sum of the digits is a one digit number. In other words, if the multiplicand is 375, you add 3 + 7 + 5 which yields 15, then 1 + 5 which gives you 6.

2) Repeat step one for the multiplier.

3) Multiply the single digits of steps 1 and 2.

4) Add the digits of this product. Repeat the addition (if necessary) until the sum of the digits is a one digit number, using the process described in step one.

5) Add digits in the product. Repeat (as in step 1) until the sum of the digits is a one digit number.

6) Compare the results of steps 3 and 4. If they are equal, then the multiplication problem was done correctly.

Example

Haitian	American
275	275
x 0,24	x0,24
1100	1100
550	550
66,00	66.00

(Multiplicand)

Step 1: 275 — 14 (2+7+5=14) — 5 (1+4=5)

(Multiplier)

Step 2: 24 — 6 (2+4=6)

Step 3: 5 (Step 1) x 6 (Step 2) = 30 (Step 3)

Step 4: 30 (3+0=3)

Step 5: (Product) 66 — 12 (6+6=12) — 3 (1+2=3)

Step 6: 3 (Step 4) = 3 (Step 5)
Therefore, the calculation was correct.

Division

Division is presented in reverse of the American system. Eight divided by two will appear as follows:

Haitian	American
8 2	4
0 4	2⟌8
	-8
	0

The difference in lay-out is utterly confusing to Haitian students who are unable to solve a division problem which is usually meaningless to them. Teachers, who are unaware of these variations in mathematical presentations, are likely to assume that the youngsters do not know how to divide.

Resources

References and teacher resources are provided on the following pages to assist ESL and subject matter teachers in their efforts to reduce culture shock, produce an inviting and supportive environment for learning, and create a basis for mutual expectations and effective interpersonal relationships upon which the success of the Haitian students' educational experience in New Jersey public schools depends.

SECTION IV

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LIST OF INTERVIEWEES

M.S.L.: Mr. S.L. is a Haitian in his twenties who completed a fellowship at the Woodrow Wilson School for Public and International Affairs at Princeton University in 1987. His family has been very active in Haitian education, as his mother was Vice-Minister of Education in the country in 1980.

G.E.: Mr. E. is a middle-aged Haitian and the director of a respected private college in Port-au-Prince, Haiti. He was also President of the Haiti/New Jersey Partners of the Americas Organization.

Y.D.: Dr. D., a renowned Haitian educator and linguist, headed a department of Haitian studies at Bank Street College in Manhattan, New York at the time of his interview. He has since returned to Haiti.

SECTION V

RESOURCES FOR TEACHERS

SUGGESTED QUIZ FOR TEACHERS

1. Differences in Haitian Creole syntax may cause initial interference when the student learns English. How might a Haitian Creole-speaker say "What time is it?" in English?

2. Definite determiners follow the noun in Haitian Creole. Would a Haitian Creole-speaker thus tend to say "table the"...in English, or tend to avoid the determiner altogether?

3. Due to the verb system in Haitian Creole, give examples of the verb forms Haitian Creole-speakers may use in the following English sentences:

    1. Today I go to school.
    2. Yesterday I went to school.
    3. Tomorrow I will go to school.

4. Considering the zero copula in Haitian Creole, how may a Haitian Creole-speaker say "I am a student," in English, and why?

True/False Quiz: Haitian Creole, French and English

Directions: Indicate whether the item is true or false by placing a T or F on the designated line.

1. ____ In its present form, Haitian Creole is a simplified variety of French.
2. ____ Haitian Creole is an official language of Haiti.
3. ____ In Haitian Creole, the definite determiner precedes the noun as in French and English.
4. ____ The grammatical system of Haitian Creole is more similar to that of English than French.
5. ____ Due to its strong French influence, Haitian Creole has not borrowed words from other languages.
6. ____ Learning French as a second language is easier for Haitians than learning English.
7. ____ The basic meaning of a Haitian Creole verb may be modified by a large set of modal verbs.
8. ____ In Haitian Creole there is no equivalent to the verb "to be" as in French and English.
9. ____ Haitian Creole is spoken by approximately 90 percent of the population in Haiti.
10. ____ Due to its being Creole language, Haitian Creole has no codified writing system.

Useful Phrases

English	Haitian Creole	Transliteration
What are you doing?	Ki sa ou ap fè la-a?	(kee-sah-oo ap fay lah)
Don't do that!	Pa fè sa!	(pah-fay-sah)
Do you like...?	Eske ou renmen?	(ehs-keh-oo ray me^{h})
Are you sick?	Ou malad?	(oo-mah-LAHO)
What ails you?	Ki sa k fè ou mal?	(KEE-sah-k-fay oo-mal)
Are you hungry?	Eske ou grangou?	(ehs-keh-oo gra^{h}-Goo)
Do you understand?	Eske ou konprann?	(ehs-keh-oo ke^{n}-pra^{h}n)
Yes	wi	(wee
No	non	(no^{h})
Read!	Li sa a	(lee-SAH-AH)
Begin!	Komanse	(KO-man-say)
Open!	Ouvè	(OU-vay)
Close!	Fèmen	(fay-me^{h})
the lavatory	twalèt	(twah-leht)
here	isit	(ee-SEET)
there	la-a	(lah-ah)
Thank you	Mèsi	(MAY-see)
Goodbye!	Orevwa!	(oh-ray-VWAH)

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Numbers in Haitian Creole

1.	Youn/en	11.	Onz	21.	Venteen
2.	De	12.	Douz	22.	Vennde
3.	Twa	13.	Trèz	23.	Venntwa
4.	Kat	14.	Katòz	24.	Vennkat
5.	Senk	15.	Kenz	25.	Vennsenk
6.	Sis	16.	Sèz	26.	Vennsis
7.	Sèt	17.	Diset	27.	Vennsèt
8.	Wit	18.	Dizwit	28.	Ventwit
9.	Nèf	19.	Diznèf	29.	Ventnèf
10.	Dis	20.	Ven	30.	Trant
				31.	Trante-en
				32.	Trennde (same as above for other numbers)

40.	Karant
50.	Senkant
60.	Swasant
70.	Swasanndis
80.	Katreven
90.	Katrevendis
100.	San
200.	Desan
1,000.	Mil

Ki Koule Li Ye? What Color is It?

Koule: Colors

Nwa	Black
Rouj	Red
Vèt	Green
Ble	Blue
Jònn	Yellow
Blan	White
Vyolèt, Mov	Purple
Gri	Gray
Jonabriko	Orange

Sezon yo: Seasons of the Year

Konbyen sezon ki genyen nan youn ane? How many seasons are there in a year?

Prentan:	Anpil lapli ap tonbe, tout moun ap plante.
Spring:	Much rain falls and everyone plants.
Ete or Lete:	Li fè cho anpil, ann al larivyè.
Summer:	It's very hot, let's go to the river.
Otòn or Lotòn:	Chalè fini, tout fèy ap mi. The hot weather is over, all the leaves became mature. (dried up)
Ivè or Livè:	Fredi rive. Tout moun mete manto.
Winter:	Cold comes. Everyone wears a coat outside.

Ayiti Cheri
(Beloved Haiti)

This is a very popular song throughout Haiti.

Ayiti cheri
Pi bon peyi pase ou nan pwen
Fòk mwen te kite ou
Pou mwen te kapab
Konprann valè ou
Fok mwen te lese ou
Pou m te ka apresye ou
Pou m santi vrèman
Tout sa ou te ye pou mwen.

Gen bon soley,
Bon rivye e bon brevaj
An ba pye bwa
Ou toujou jwenn bon lonbraj
Gen bon ti van
K ap ba nou bon ti frechè
ala bon peyi
O Bondye, se Ayiti.

Jou Semenn La
(Days of the Week)

Dimanch	Sunday
Lendi	Monday
Madi	Tuesday
Mèkredi	Wednesday
Jedi	Thursday
Vandredi	Friday
Samdi	Saturday

Mwa Yo
Mwa Ki Nan Youn Ane
(Month of the Year)

Janvye	January
Fevriye	February
Mas	March
Avril	April
Me	May
Jen	June
Jiyè	July
Out or Aout (South)	August
Septanm	September
Oktòb	October
Novanm	November
Desanm	December

Haitian Creole Proverbs

Haitians have a keen sense of humor which compliments their philosophical nature. Both elements are evident in their proverbs. Use the following proverbs for stimulating class discussion. Determine their figurative meanings and discuss their American equivalents.

Chen gen kat pat, me se nan yon sèl chemen li kouri.
A dog has four paws; but can go only one way.

Piti piti zwazo fè nich li.
Little by little the bird makes its nest.

Se kouto sèl ki konnen sa ki nan kè yam.
Only the knife knows what is in the heart of the yam.

Kabrit gade je mèt kay avan-l antre.
The goat looks at the home owner's eye before entering his house.

Ou pa kapab kouche sou nat epi wap pale nat mal.
You cannot sleep on a mat and then speak negatively about it.

Tout venn touche kè.
Every vein affects the heart.

Prese kon ou prese, two prese pa fè jou leve.
You can hurry as much as you like, but being in too big a hurry will not make the day dawn.

Dèyè mònn gen mònn.
Beyond the mountains there are more mountains still.

Sak vid pa kanpe.
An empty sack cannot stand up.

Tou sa ou pa konnen pi gran pase ou.
All that you do not know is greater than you.

Se senk kòb ki fè goud.
It's the five centimes piece that makes up the gourde.

Kanari pa sous.
The big water pot is not a spring.

Avek pasyans wa wè lonbrit foumi.
With patience you will see the belly button of an ant.

Zonbi goute sèl; li pa mande rete.
The zombi tastes salt; s/he doesn't ask to stop eating it. "When you taste something good, you can't stop eating it."

GLR/sl:1/5127m

NOTES

Art.: Olivier Romane (O.R)